THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

IT WAS A TOUGH WEEK. THIS ISSUE OF *THE Nation* appears by grace of a good deal of editorial blood, sweat, and tears; the readiness of the Appeal Printing Company, a union shop which is not involved in the present lock-out, to accept on short notice the job of composition; and the cooperation of Laurence H. Victory, president of Big Six, who helped us find an acceptable printer. How long the lock-out will continue, we do not know. At this writing, there seems to be no early prospect of agreement between the Employing Printers Association, doggedly determined to increase the typographers' work week to forty hours, and the Big Six, equally determined not to let the thirty-six-and-a-quarter-hour week be taken from it. But numerous firms *are* breaking away from the discipline of the association and coming to terms with the union, openly or covertly, and we hope the end will come soon. Meanwhile, we are doing everything we can to see that *The Nation* does not break its record of continuous weekly publication since 1865. While the lock-out lasts, we may have to appear in twenty-four-page format, with certain regular features condensed or dropped. And our special forty-page issue on Housing in America, originally planned and announced for this week, has been temporarily tabled. We will publish it as soon as conditions allow.

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A SHOWDOWN ALSO LOOMS IN NEW YORK'S giant newspaper industry. It seems unlikely, as we go to press, that the typographers on the city's fourteen major newspapers will have walked out on March 31, the day their contract expired, but quite possible that the negotiations already in progress with the Publishers' Association will break down as they did in the commercial printing industry. If that happens, New York will find itself reading "varityped" newspapers or no newspapers at all. The varitype machine is a sort of glorified typewriter that can spread its lines flush to each margin and can employ different type faces. Varityped columns and lettered headlines are pasted by hand on dummies, and the page layout photo-engraved and stereotyped for printing. The method completely side-steps the linotype operator and make-up man. All newspapers are now employing it in Chicago where the I. T. U. lock-out is entering its nineteenth bitter week; and most of the larger New York publishers are, somewhat surreptitiously, turning out experimental varityped editions of their newspapers every day. The printers call use of the varitype machine "strike-breaking"; the publishers call it "technological progress." The New York local of the American Newspaper Guild favors the first definition and has sworn to oppose "Operation Varitype" if a work-stoppage should occur. If the Guild then refuses to gather or edit copy for the varityping machines and, perhaps more important, if the stereotypers and pressmen of the Allied Printing Trades should align themselves with the I. T. U., we do not see how the newspapers are going to come out. At a time like this, the implications are staggering.

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THE VARIOUS VERSIONS OF MR. MARSHALL'S testimony last week in the closed hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee agree on its main outlines. Mr. Marshall said the Palestine partition plan was shelved to prevent the Middle Eastern powder keg from exploding into full-scale war. He said that, while an international force would be required to defend the trusteeship scheme proposed by the United States, the force could be smaller than would be required to carry out partition. According to the New York *Times* version, he made it plain that a big factor in the reversal of policy was the probability that partition would bring Russia into the Middle East as part of an enforcement army. What he did not say was just as revealing. Although the Palestine Commission had designated Britain and the Arabs as joint obstacles to partition, Mr. Marshall made no criticism of either; indeed, he expressed the hope that the British would remain in Palestine under the trusteeship. It is known that a State Department commission is even now in London negotiating with the Foreign Office. And so, out of the welter of apparent contradictions and shifts, a clear position emerges. The United States is preparing to force through a scheme under which Palestine will be guarded—i.e. occupied—by British and, if necessary, American troops, on terms designed to placate the Arabs and prevent Soviet Russian access to the Middle East. The various "compromise" proposals put forward by the Arab delegations and, shockingly enough, by the French at Lake Success, as well as President Truman's empty appeal for a truce, must be interpreted in the light of that purpose. But if these officials and Secretary Forrestal believe that their trusteeship plan will keep the powder keg from exploding, they are due for another rude shock. This time they will have a much more formidable antagonist than the Arabs to contend with—the determination of the Jews of Palestine to establish their state in accordance with the U. N. decision of November 29 and to defend it to the last drop

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of their blood. The Jewish state will have many allies in many lands, as the mounting protests against the trusteeship maneuver clearly show. Indeed, it is quite possible that the new American scheme will confront more difficulties than partition ever threatened. The price of betrayal is seldom peace.

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WHEN FOREIGN SECRETARY ERNEST BEVIN denies that the Anglo-French-American proposal to give Trieste back to Italy was designed to influence the Italian elections, he is being as silly as he is insincere. This card was obviously played in order to trump some of the aces that Moscow has been slipping to Signor Togliatti, and considered coldly as tactics in a cold war, it was a smart move. The fact that the Russian government had not decided how to reply, nearly a week after the three powers sent their note to Moscow, is a fair indication that it feels itself on an awkward spot. It will be hard to take a position on the Trieste question that does not offend national sentiment either in Italy or Yugoslavia. If Marshall Tito, with Moscow's blessing, insists upon the status quo in Trieste, the Italian Communist Party may suffer a severe setback. On the other hand, should he give way, the chief credit will accrue to the Western powers. The Yugoslav government, while awaiting positive instructions from Moscow, has been suggesting unconvincing alternatives and saying neither yes nor no. Perhaps it will postpone an answer until after the Italians have voted, while hinting that more generous terms will be available once a Communist regime is installed in Rome. At the moment, it looks as if the West has won this game but the rubber isn't over and neither side has a monopoly of finesse.

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FOR FREE ENTERPRISE AT ITS WORST, WE give you the American coal industry. Year after year, John L. Lewis calls out his miners, with dire and all-too-real threats to the economic life of the country. And John L. Lewis invariably makes out a good case. This year, the effects of a prolonged strike can be particularly disastrous, not only forcing a drastic cut in industrial production and a breakdown in transportation but blocking the E. R. P. more effectively than its political opponents have been able to do with all their maneuvering. To Mr. Lewis, himself a fierce opponent of the Marshall Plan, this by-product of the strike can only add zest to the performance, but basically his grievance against the operators is, as usual, unimpeachable. Forty-seven million dollars lie idle in the miners' welfare fund because Ezra Van Horn, on behalf of the operators, refuses to sanction benefits for workers whose employers do not contribute to the fund. This conforms to Mr. Van Horn's narrow interpretation of Section 302 of the Taft-Hartley Act, but surely a legalism of this sort can be tested in the courts without half wrecking the country. Morally, Lewis's contention is irrefutable. While the buying power of the miners is

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slightly above the level of a quarter of a century ago, thanks largely to Lewis and his union, living conditions are scarcely changed. Housing, medical facilities, safety, and even drinking water have improved only imperceptibly. Yet who can argue that even the plight of the miners offers adequate ground for jeopardizing our foreign policy and our national economy at so crucial a moment? We go far beyond Mr. Lewis. The solution is not to make the pension plan industry-wide, but to make adequate social security nation-wide. As for the archaic coal industry itself, it is rotten-ripe for nationalization, a process that would please the autocratic Lewis no more than the autocratic Van Horn.

Revolt Against Truman

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S political advisers must be speculating grimly on which movement is gaining the faster, the campaign against their chief outside the Democratic Party or the revolt within it. Without minimizing the power of the Wallace crusade, the intra-party movement against Truman—North, South, and West—seems at the moment to be the more sensational and, from our point of view, the more hopeful. What seasoned politicians scoffed at a few months ago, and what many of them still say is out of the question, has become a vivid possibility. Harry Truman may have to step aside for a Democrat big enough to win, with or without the handicap of a third party.

Mr. Truman's present weakness, as a candidate and as a President, is not the result of the rebellion against him but rather the cause of it. The Southerners, incensed as they may be over the civil-rights program, would not have allowed their resentment to go anything like as far as it has if they thought the President had any chance of winning. They took rougher treatment from Roosevelt, in fact if not on paper, without being moved to more than a filibuster. But now that they have a loser to deal with, they are ready to put on a show of strength in the struggle for a larger share of party control.

While the ranting of the Eastlands, Rankins, and O'Daniels might have been discounted, last week's Southern defections were genuinely grim news for the Truman camp. Senator Sparkman of Alabama, a liberal and former party whip of the House, called upon the President to "bow out." Senator Hill of the same state, the man who placed Roosevelt in nomination in 1940, withdrew his pledged support of Truman and asked for his retirement from the race. And even Senator Pepper, who almost alone among the Southerners supported the civil-rights program, would only declare himself "neither for nor against the President."

Coincidentally with the revolt of the liberal Southerners, reports poured into Democratic headquarters of rebellion in the North and West. The Administration's shocking about-face on the partition of Palestine set off the uprising in New York, but the storm is far from being confined to the few preponderantly Jewish districts. No New York Democrat feels safe with a ticket headed by Truman, and the significant development is not the open bolt by three Brooklyn leaders but the fact that local party chiefs are obviously encouraging the movement in the hope of persuading Truman to step down. The Democratic leader of Brooklyn's 13th District has already formed an Eisenhower-for-President club, and it is unofficially reported that both Mayor O'Dwyer and Boss Flynn are giving the Eisenhower boom serious consideration. The Liberal Party, too, is shaken by the Palestine performance, and in the view of one of its most influential members, Max Zaritsky, the President has already "completely lost" the confidence of labor. Zaritsky, who heads the A. F. of L.'s millinery workers' union, is the first right-wing labor leader to come out in open condemnation of the President. His blast was followed a day later by an even unkinder cut from Louis Hollander, who heads the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee in New York. "I hope the President will not be a spite candidate, like Wallace," Zaritsky said.

From the West come threats of similar outbreaks in Chicago and Los Angeles, and Colorado's Senator Johnson has publicly branded the Truman candidacy a handicap to the party. Jacob M. Arvey, leader of the Chicago Democratic machine, has openly expressed the hope that Eisenhower will prove "available." The general, Arvey thinks, "is the kind of liberal with whom we could win, both nationally and locally." Anti-Truman delegations to the Philadelphia convention are now regarded as a certainty, regardless of any future shift on the Palestine issue, and of the thirteen incumbent Democratic Senators up for reelection, only two—Murray of Montana and Green of Rhode Island—will run as pro-Truman candidates.

In view of these facts, assertions that Truman's nomination is a sad inevitability have a hollow quality about them. In general, three "reasons" are adduced: first, that no party has ever won an election after rejecting the claim of an incumbent who had come to the White House by way of the vice-presidency; second, that control of patronage makes the Truman machine invincible within the party; and, third, that the nominee may as well be Truman since whoever he is he will have to run on the Truman record. The first of these arguments is academic to the point of feebleness. The political picture is never quite the same in any two campaigns, and a much greater

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precedent went by the boards when Roosevelt was nominated for a third term. The patronage argument would mean more if there were a better chance that Truman might win after all, but with no appreciable threat of retaliation over their heads, the rebels have more to fear in the way of losing patronage if they cling to Truman than if they pick a likelier winner. There is some logic in the third argument, but not much realism. An Eisenhower, or even a less sure-fire nominee like Justice William O. Douglas, might have to pay his passing respects to the Truman record but his own personality and position would tend to overshadow whatever apologetics were politically called for. In the case of Eisenhower, these would be dwarfed entirely.

We may be wrong in viewing Mr. Douglas's remarkably cogent speech at the University of Florida as an attempt to get his views before the public at a psychologically strategic moment, but it may fairly be accepted as such. It was a balanced and statesmanlike address, condemning both appeasement and a policy of "railing and ranting at the specter of communism." Its breadth of vision and bold concentration on fundamentals should commend its author to liberals who accept neither the ineptness of Harry Truman nor the irrationality of Henry Wallace.

Union in the West

THE real case for a Western European union does not rest on the necessity of joint action against possible Soviet aggression. If no such danger existed, the removal of political boundaries would still be an essential aim for Europe. Small nationalities are obsolete, politically, technologically, and economically. In a world dominated by two non-European powers, Europe must speak with a united voice or it will not be heard at all. Economically, the Continent's one chance of solid recovery and progress lies in the abolition of barriers to trade, and the mobility of labor, over as wide an area as possible. Only so will it be possible to achieve the mass market which modern production methods demand; only so will it be possible to plan the development of natural resources and to organize industry and agriculture in ways that will compensate for the fact that, with its present density of population, Western Europe cannot be economically self-sufficient.

The recent Brussels conference brought together five contiguous states—Britain, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands—which form a natural nucleus for a larger grouping. Despite obvious national differences, these countries have much in common—similar conceptions of democracy, fairly similar standards of living, a pragmatic approach to economic problems. And all of them have "mixed" economies in which the socialized area is gradually being expanded. Given the will, the conditions necessary for carrying out the first three articles of the Brussels Treaty, in which the contracting parties undertake close economic, social, and cultural collaboration, are undeniably present.

Much more attention has been paid to Article IV, which provides for full mutual assistance if any one of the five powers is the object of an armed attack. Certainly this is the point of immediate practical importance, even though it is doubtful whether the combined military strength of the five powers would suffice to "stop Russia." Nevertheless, the alliance, plus the implicit promise of United States backing in the event of aggression, may encourage the Soviet Union to change its tactics.

The treaty, as Ernest Bevin has said, is "not an end but a beginning." The permanent Consultative Committee of the five powers, set up by the treaty, has a wide field for useful activity outside the area of defense problems. This will be still more true if it proves possible to secure adherence to the treaty of most of the sixteen Marshall Plan powers who, at their conference in Paris last August, launched a number of studies designed to further economic union.

The Scandinavian states in particular are more receptive to close cooperation with the other European democracies than ever before. The Czech coup appears to have shocked them into making a difficult decision. Since the war ended, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark have done their utmost to avoid giving offense to the Soviets, tending to hold a little aloof from other Western countries and to emphasize their traditional neutrality. Recent reports suggest, however, that they have reached the conclusion that independent friendliness with the Soviet Union offers little security. They have been warned by Czechoslovakia that Moscow may accept nothing less than 100 per cent compliance. This is a price that Scandinavia, with its strong ties with the West, its libertarian traditions, and its dependence on world trade, will not pay.

If the Scandinavians do join, the social-democratic tendencies of the Western group will be strongly reinforced and its chance of playing a constructive economic role much enhanced. For the Brussels Treaty, if it is to prove more than a temporary barrier to communism, must become the parent of a union which will proceed to reconstruct the economy of Western Europe on broadly socialist lines. Only as a real "Third Force," rejecting alike American capitalism and Russian communism, can the Continent's distinctive civilization hope to survive.

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Italy Between the Blocs

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, March 18

ITALY needs basic reform almost more than it needs help from the outside. The effect of foreign relief is transitory while reforms last; without them, Italy cannot ever hope to become a democracy.

De Gasperi's electoral speeches can be boiled down to this: "If you vote for the left you will have neither material nor spiritual salvation; you will receive no help from America and no sacraments from the church." This time he does not promise industrial or agrarian reforms as he did before the general elections of June, 1946; he is aware that Italians will take no stock in such pledges, since none have been fulfilled in the past two years.

The Saragat right-wing Socialists, now allied with De Gasperi, see Italy's problems from a different angle. A prominent member of that small but much-talked-about party expressed it this way: "We are quite aware that we cannot appeal to the masses because we have had to abandon the program of social change. We thought that it was the first duty of our party to fight to preserve individual liberties. We entered the government in order to control its conservative tendencies." But Saragat's followers actually amount to little more in the government than any other group willing to go along with De Gasperi for the purpose of fighting communism. As a result, De Gasperi is able to claim that his party represents the so-called Third Force, and that he alone can take Italy into that Western Union proclaimed by Mr. Bevin. Yet if Western Union means no more for Italy than maintaining present conditions and keeping in power a Vatican-dominated government allied with acknowledged fascists, then the Italian masses will rightly oppose it.

The active participation of the Vatican in the coming elections is by no means entirely spiritual. The Vatican is investing heavily in Italian and foreign bonds and has its agents in all important stock exchanges. It possesses huge landed estates in Italy which are not subject to taxation. Today, as before June, 1946, every Catholic church in the country has become a center of campaign propaganda in favor of Christian Democracy and the other rightist parties. It is useless to remind the clergy that both Article 71 of the electoral law and the Lateran Pact forbid ministers of religion to take part in politics; the Vatican itself ordered them into action.

It is obvious that American help means much to Italian economy; for this reason, non-Communist left leaders insist that their attitude toward the Marshall Plan is critical but not hostile; they would refuse to let it become a mere political instrument. There is no denying that a good deal of American help, even now, goes to support certain industries which are parts of identified cartels. Some 30,000,000,000 lire derived from the sale by the government of American goods have mysteriously disappeared. The government claims that the goods have been sold at a lower price than stipulated, but this has turned out to be false.

Certain aspects of the Marshall Plan are unsatisfactory in terms of Italy's vital needs. First of all, Italy will receive far less raw material under the program as it stands than Italian economists consider essential. America was asked for 66,000,000 tons of coal, but only 13,000,000 will be delivered; 7,500,000 tons of steel and iron are needed, but only 700,000 have been granted. As a consequence, a number of critical industries will have to close down or look for the balance of needed raw material elsewhere, mostly in Eastern Europe. Whether, under present circumstances, the American administrator of the Marshall Plan will encourage Italy to exchange finished goods for raw materials from Eastern Europe is obviously doubtful. Another unfortunate aspect of the plan is that, under it, Italy would receive certain finished and semi-finished products, not needed and not asked for, that would compete directly with local industries. To this must be added the fact that Italy would be forced to sell exclusively to America certain strategic products, such as bauxite, mercury, and wool. And once Italy has shaped its economy to fit the Marshall Plan pattern, will it be assured of continuing help? America has taken an engagement that will have to be renewed every year and could be stopped at any moment. Such arguments inspire criticism of E. R. P. by the left, but there is no disposition to minimize American help, especially on the part of the Socialists.

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I HAVE been definitely assured that should the Popular Front win not merely a plurality but even a majority at the elections, it would invite the Christian Democrats to share power. The Communists have become convinced that it would be a mistake for them to insist on any key portfolios, such as the Presidency, the Premiership, or the ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Interior. The left would probably offer the Premiership to an outstanding parliamentarian with a record of impartiality. The name of former Premier F. S. Nitti is often mentioned. The Socialist Party would firmly refuse to allow Italy to be taken into the Eastern European bloc, should the Communists be so unwise as to propose it.

American liberals may wonder why, if they have such an independent attitude, the Socialists have formed a close alliance with the Communists in the Popular Front. The reason is simple enough to anyone who understands the internal situation of Italy. The working class feels constantly menaced by a ruling group supported by the same forces which were responsible for fascism. They believe the only chance to prevent a return of fascism is to unite against this danger. The complete failure of Saragat's party to win a popular following shows what happens to a party that compromises on this issue. Had the majority Socialists followed its example, the working class would today be represented only by the Communists, and the split between right and left would have been so sharp as to lead inevitably to a civil struggle.

The Italian press is flooded with dispatches from America declaring that a victory of the Popular Front would mean complete Communist domination of Italy, and this in turn would cause the United States to stop any sort of relief, if not to take more drastic action. No attitude could be more unwise, to say the least. First of all, if the left parties win, it will be through elections controlled by the Christian Democrats (rumors of a coup d'état before April 18 are totally groundless). Second, to deny help to Italy would make it wholly dependent on the Eastern bloc. Third, such threats cause America to lose rather than win prestige.

WESTERN UNION seems to call for a radical solution alarming to most Italians. They see in Bevin's project an instrument not of peace but of war; and when it comes to that tragic issue, Italians cannot overlook their geographical position. On the northern frontier is Austria, key to the Danubian countries; to the east, Yugoslavia, spearhead of Russian influence; to the southeast, Greece, actual theater of war between two competing centers of power. Should an international conflict break out, Italy would be the first country involved; and sentiment is strong in all sections of the population that this must not happen.

Because of its present economic state—its need of American help and also of trade with Eastern Europe—Italy cannot possibly belong to any bloc. Instead of insisting on an impossible choice, America should ask of Italy a promise of absolute neutrality—and only if such neutrality were broken should it carry out a threat of economic sanctions. Such a move would not only take the ground from under Communist propaganda, proving that America does not wish to use Italy as a pawn in its struggle with Russia, but would strengthen the position of the Socialists and help prevent a polarization of political forces.

Caricature by Lilly Rossi

Pietro Nenni

America should also understand that by forcing Italians to take a position for or against any power bloc, it is inviting civil war. The Communist Party has over 2,000,000 members, mostly people who have never read Marx and Lenin, but believe in Togliatti's promise of social reforms — of bread and land. It is of vital importance to the peaceful development of Italy that these people should not feel outlawed. By giving the Communists a chance to operate outside the framework of the Constitution, Italy would invite disorders and general strikes with which the police would be unable to cope. The Communists could risk direct action, because they know that workers and farmers are not willing to wait for a solution of all international problems to achieve those basic reforms the Constitution promises. By sharing control over the masses with the Communists, the Socialists have so far been able to preserve legality and prevent the Constitution from being violated. But if, as the result of Vatican-American action, the Communists are deprived of advantages legally won, trouble will surely follow. And once again, the United States will find itself aligned with fascists, clericals, and corrupt reactionaries, linked to some center groups by one bond—their common fear of communism.

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The Beachhead We Forgot

BY DONALD DOWNES

Rome, March 24.

THE battle lines in the election struggle are finely drawn, and there are almost no neutrals. On one side, with the overwhelmingly large proportion of organized labor behind them, are the Communists and Nenni Socialists. On the other is the Christian Democratic Party with most of the fragmentary parties such as the Saragat Socialists and the Republicans, and of course all fascists and extreme rightists. Behind the Communist-Socialist bloc stand Russia and its European satellites. Behind the Demo-Christians and their allies stand the Vatican and the Anglo-American bloc. Italians have the exasperated knowledge that this is not an election on *Italian* issues, but a struggle between Washington and Moscow.

The Italian "war" is the war in Greece without bloodshed—that is, so far. The two general staffs are making sorties and feints, long-distance bombardments with propaganda; up to now the anti-Communist staff has had the better of it, not because it has fought a brilliant campaign but because the Communist commanders have made more serious errors.

In Milan before Christmas, later in almost every city in Italy, most recently in Florence, the Communists and Socialists controlling the labor movement have called general strikes with no apparent immediate economic purpose. I have witnessed three of these strikes, in Rome, Catania, and Florence. In each case, the public, a good many workers included, have reacted against them with angry impatience. To me, a foreigner who wandered the streets asking questions, watching, listening, the strikes were a failure which will cost the left a great many votes. People do not want to go hungry, lose pay, and open themselves to their neighbors' displeasure because Moscow does not like the Marshall Plan, and that is what Italians think the strikes were all about.

Another mistake of the left has been the exaggerated bitterness of its anti-American campaign; not that we are loved here, or anywhere else, but the left press has really gone overboard. The 1,000 marines sent to the Mediterranean fleet became a landing force to "reoccupy" Italy. Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Rumania are presented as tranquil democracies, bastions of liberty; England and America are comparable only with Franco Spain.

But not all the mistakes have been made by the Communists and their Socialist allies. The De Gasperi government is currently conducting a red hunt among the anti-fascist foreign refugees in Italy. It is odd to see Pacciardi, who led an anti-fascist legion in the Spanish war, now acting as chairman of the government's committee on public order which is threatening to lock up and later deport Alvaro Lopez, delegate of the Spanish Socialist youth movement to the equivalent Italian organization. This incident is especially unfortunate, since the new Italian constitution guarantees the right of asylum to political refugees.

The De Gasperi government does nothing to get the huge vote of the *piccolo borghese* (in Franklin Roosevelt's phrase, "the forgotten man")—the little shopkeeper, government employee, artisan, white-collar worker—and his family; the government has no program aimed at wiping out the shocking inequalities in Italian life. In Italy, the rich, paying almost no taxes, are far richer in what they have to spend than any equivalent proportion of Americans. The "forgotten men" have a lower standard of living than unemployed laborers in the United States. It is not surprising that these people react to their situation in one of two ways: nostalgia for "the good old days" of fascism, or the Socialist-Communist front.

Another new set of converts for the Socialists and Communists are the miserable peasants of the south, victims of the *latifondist* system. Regional meetings of these poor devils, organized by the left, are causing the De Gasperi government real worry. Here the left is on firm ground. Any committee of Republican Senators from Washington would be shocked by the inhuman conditions under which millions of Italian peasants live. They would be shocked to find among the names of the landowners those of the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, liberal-speaking Prince Doria-Pamphili, and Italy's great philosopher, Benedetto Croce.

The peasants usually are required to pay a fixed rent in kind for land, with the crop specified by the landlord; a crop failure is the peasant's loss, as the fixed rental goes to the landowner. One room, often underground, serves for family, chickens, and—in the case of richer families—the donkey. Authority in these

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latifondisti villages is vested in a couple of carabinieri and the village priest. The first with the tommy-gun and the latter with hell's fire enforce the will of the absentee landowner, expressed from distant Rome or Biarritz through a steward or manager. Where this is not enough force, the landowners maintain the *Mafia*, private armed bullies, to keep the peasants in line.

These conditions I report not from the columns of leftist papers, but from a good many months spent in the villages of these gentle and hospitable human beasts of burden. Hunger is their constant companion, and death, or emigration to America—now nearly impossible—their only release.

This ground is as fertile for communism as it is unfertile, due to overcultivation of the single wheat crop, for agriculture. The regimented and terrorized peasants were always used by the right and the church to offset the workers' votes in industrial northern Italy. A minimum of reform, long-term reform, would have stymied the new Communist drive in the south, but the church and the landowners, ancient allies, have vetoed most reforms. The Communist movement, as a result, is increasing geometrically. This will show in the April balloting; how much, no one knows.

It seems to me that the Christian Democrats will, with the help of their fractional allies, skim through and control the new Parliament. Other observers give the Communist-Socialist bloc a fifty-fifty chance. Back in 1945, some of us wrote from Italy that this peninsula must be our political, military, and economic beachhead in Europe, and that we could hold it only by interesting ourselves in Italian recovery, by openly backing a real democratic center-left-of-center coalition. These reports were treated with scant regard by our editors—most of them—and by the people who make American foreign policy. Now the price of a beachhead has gone up and the Marshall Plan is only its first instalment.

Wisconsin—Anybody's Guess

BY MILES McMILLIN

Madison, Wisconsin, March 26

NO ONE here knows what's going to happen when Wisconsin goes to the polls in the Presidential primary election on April 6. One of the state's veteran political pundits wrote an article predicting that, of the twenty-seven delegates to be elected, Dewey would take ten, MacArthur nine, and Stassen eight; then he added, "I reserve the right to change my mind as soon as I have finished this piece."

Those carrying the colors of each of the three candidates of course exude confidence. They cannot see how their particular man can lose, but they won't be pinned down to figures. It is conceivable that the candidates could win nine delegates each, for a tie.

As this is written, Stassen has been given a small boost. In a poll taken at a convention in Wausau, Republican county chairmen were asked: "Whom do you think the people of your county will support?" and "Whom will you vote for?" The first question was answered: Stassen, 31; Dewey, 16; MacArthur, 11; Taft, 1; no opinion, 12. The second was answered: Stassen, 28; Dewey, 20; MacArthur, 9; Taft, 2; no opinion, 12. It must be pointed out that the poll was conducted among organization men, and it is no secret in Wisconsin that the Republican organization has been largely taken over by Stassen forces in the last four years. Stassen's 1944 Wisconsin Presidential-primary campaign never stopped after election day. Stassen's aide-de-camp, Victor Johnston, who came to Wisconsin from Minnesota in 1944, remained here as executive secretary of the powerful G. O. P. Voluntary Committee, which raises and spends campaign money. An astute and popular politician, Johnston has sewed up the key organizational men in the Stassen drive. And everybody realizes that Thomas E. Coleman, who handles funds for the Voluntary Committee and who hired Johnston, is pulling strings behind the scenes for Stassen.

The Wausau poll is a tribute to Johnston's ability to make friends and influence people. A considerably broader sampling was taken last summer at the Republican state convention, with many members of the rank and file in attendance, and Dewey led by a wide margin. But it is quite possible that Stassen has made deep inroads into the Wisconsin vote which went so overwhelmingly for Dewey in 1944. One cannot discount the efficiency and power of the Voluntary Committee, particularly if there is a light vote next week. Stassen's treatment in the press has been friendly, particularly in the state's largest newspaper, the Milwaukee *Journal*.

What are Stassen's weaknesses? Perhaps the greatest is that the average, middle-class Republican voter

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in this state doesn't feel safe with him. With their isolationist heritage, they consider him New Dealish and internationalist. And as a result of the aversions of the "regulars," he has had to fill out his slate with several delegates unknown in party circles or political circles generally.

Stassen's ticket is headed by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, the young veteran unearthed by the Voluntary Committee in 1946 to accomplish the defeat of Robert M. La Follette, Jr. McCarthy is the only prominent Republican public official in Wisconsin who has openly backed a Presidential candidate. Senator Alexander Wiley and Acting Governor Rennebohm have maintained a cautious silence, as have the ten Republican Congressmen.

McCarthy may have hurt Stassen's chances more than he has helped them. In recent months, the youthful Senator has had a tough time explaining why he failed to report to state-income-tax authorities a $42,000 profit from stock speculations. He has not returned to the state for any part of the campaign—an absence which may have been encouraged by the Minnesotan's strategists. McCarthy's recent vote, with Taft, to reduce the scale of E. R. P. has embarrassed Stassen, to say the least. And he has received considerable unfavorable comment for his domineering chairmanship of the recent junketing House committee to investigate the housing problem.

Dewey, on the other hand, is not embarrassed—or aided—by prominent delegates. He has, however, the confidence of the conservative, stolid Republican voters. They gave him preponderant support in 1944, when he captured fifteen of twenty-four delegates and would doubtless have won them all had he entered a full slate. All of those pledged to him were elected by large majorities.

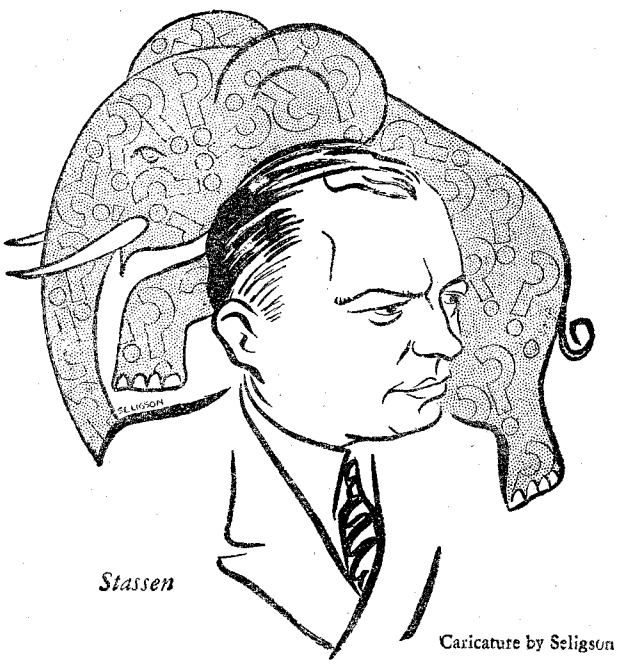
Dewey has always been considered "safe." His hard-working organization is bossed by three New Yorkers who understand how to organize a campaign without seeming spectacular. He is not identified with new or untried ideas. That is why his slate is filled with faithful, plodding party horses. Six of his delegate candidates are members of the state legislature, who have repeatedly won elections in their conservative districts. Stassen, on the other hand, has only three members on his slate, two of whom are "young Republicans." MacArthur's ticket includes one state legislator—a Progressive whom Phil La Follette converted.

MACARTHUR probably has the most remarkable slate of all. It ranges from some of the most conservative Republicans in the state to Phil La Follette and the few former Progressives he has been able to attract. A strong bond of isolationism holds the ticket together, and the core of MacArthur's vote will come from the quiet but determined isolationist bloc. In addition to La Follette, big names on the slate are Secretary of State Fred R. Zimmerman and Mrs. Madge Goodland, wife of the late Governor Walter Goodland. Zimmerman, an old America Firster, used to be one of Wisconsin's best vote pullers, but he has slipped in recent years. Still, it was to Zimmerman, then running as Dewey delegate-at-large, that Willkie attributed his 1944 defeat. Mrs. Goodland's husband, by the way, was a Stassen admirer.

The sales talk of the MacArthur supporters is based on the statement that he is a native son and "the one American who knows how to deal with Stalin." Despite the native-son line, it is not known when or whether he ever paid taxes or voted in the state. The increasing international tension, of course, has contributed to his boom. The Milwaukee *Sentinel,* like all Hearst newspapers, has turned its front page over to promoting the general for President.

There is something mercurial about the support he is getting in Wisconsin. Everyone, including the politicians, says it's growing, but nobody can put his finger on it. Outside of the group around Gerald L. K. Smith, the support is largely unorganized. Even veterans' organizations are cool. But the talk builds up for the need for a "strong man" in the White House. There seems to be plenty of money behind the drive, as demonstrated when it became known that his campaigners had contracted for the use of almost 500 large outdoor-advertising billboards. In spite of all this, the anti-militarist tradition in Wisconsin is strong and may not be shaken unless the international situation rapidly gets much worse.

While leaders in the other two camps privately



Stassen

Caricature by Seligson

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express concern over the "man-on-horseback" campaign being conducted in MacArthur's behalf, publicly they shy away from any criticism of the general. The chief counterattack so far—particularly from the Stassen camp—has been the sounding of dire warnings that the election of a MacArthur slate would mean that Phil La Follette had captured control of the Wisconsin Republican Party.

This would be a fate worse than death for most of the leaders in the old Voluntary Committee. Coleman, its real boss, has made a lifetime job of driving the La Follettes from public office. Yet strangely enough, one of the committee's founders, William Campbell of Oshkosh, is standing shoulder-to-shoulder with La Follette on the MacArthur slate.

La Follette, who can give most of the G. O. P. regulars cards and spades when it comes to politicking, is letting no opportunities slip. He is exploiting the trepidations of the regulars to convince Progressives—who otherwise would not be enthusiastic about MacArthur—that the golden moment has arrived to break the "Coleman-McCarthy" machine. And he is receiving support on that basis. State Senator Charles Madsen, the single legislative member on the MacArthur slate, submitted his name for that reason.

Meanwhile, Bob La Follette, who is now in private business in Washington, has said nothing about the primaries. Reports have trickled back here that he does not share his younger brother's enthusiasm for the man who returned. But the La Follettes usually have a couple of last-minute surprises to pull in a campaign, and seldom present a disunited front to the public. At any rate, Bob usually goes along with Phil. Phil has not always done so with Bob.

New Political Patterns in India

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, March 21

INDIA is gradually settling down to a life without Gandhi. The cracks inside the Congress Party, which I mentioned in an earlier dispatch written on the day of Gandhi's funeral, have visibly widened. The Socialists, in their annual conference, decided to sever their connection with the Congress Party. They attempted a trial of strength with Congress candidates in the recent municipal elections in Bombay, with very encouraging results. The Congress Party, for many years unassailable, surprisingly failed to win a decisive majority, getting forty-nine seats out of a total of one hundred and six. The Socialists emerged the next strongest group with twenty-six seats.

There have been some surprising features about these elections. The Socialist successes were more remarkable than the aggregate results suggest, since their triumphs over the Congress candidates occurred in the workers' area. Secondly, candidates of the Congress Party and the Moslem League, overcoming old animosities, combined on the eve of the elections to fight the Socialists.

Emboldened by their success in Bombay's municipal elections, fought for the first time over adult suffrage, the Socialists are now planning to nominate their candidates for the rural elections in the United Provinces. This contest will provide a test of another kind —whether India's rural population finds a socialistic program sufficiently attractive to prefer their advocates to Congress candidates.

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More rapidly than one would have expected, economic issues are beginning to cut across familiar party alignments. The Moslem League inside India has decided to dissolve its organization, leaving its members free to join other groups. A comparatively small nucleus will continue to function under the old title, but its most influential members have withdrawn their support of the league. Some will quietly join the Congress while others will drift into the Socialist movement according to their outlook. Similarly, the militant Akali Party, which for years has represented Sikh interests, has declared its intention to wind up its organization as a political entity and advised its members to joint the Congress Party.

THESE changes are not peculiar to India. Pakistan has faced even more violent shocks in the course of the last few weeks. Jinnah has never met such stiff opposition from inside the ranks of the Moslem League as he did at the last meeting of the league's council in Karachi. A large majority, brushing aside his advice, decided that members of the Cabinet should not simultaneously hold party offices. Pakistan's problems are in some respects different from India's, though economic issues there, too, have begun to produce internal divergences. Mainly, however, they are

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based on provincial differences and jealousies. Sind, where Pakistan's capital, Karachi, is located, seems suspicious of Western Pakistan's domineering intentions. Between these two regions there has always existed a measure of hostility because Panjabi business interests have sought proprietary control over Sind. Within Western Pakistan, radical and Communist tendencies have manifested themselves with unmistakable vigor. The next general elections will reveal how far these elements, with the cry of putting down landlord domination, will win anti-Jinnah candidates.

Beyond Western Pakistan to the northwest is a region inhabited by Pathans, who do not conceal their desire for a separate state. So long as Kashmir provides an exciting diversion for these adventurous and ruthless tribesmen, Jinnah need not worry seriously about their predatory instincts. The question may assume another form if the Security Council of the United Nations should suggest that assistance for the raiders from Pakistan be ended; or, alternatively, if Indian troops with the coming of spring should strike more effectively and drive them back to Pakistan. Already the fact that these raiders march with impunity through hundreds of miles of Pakistan territory is causing nervousness among the population of the regions concerned.

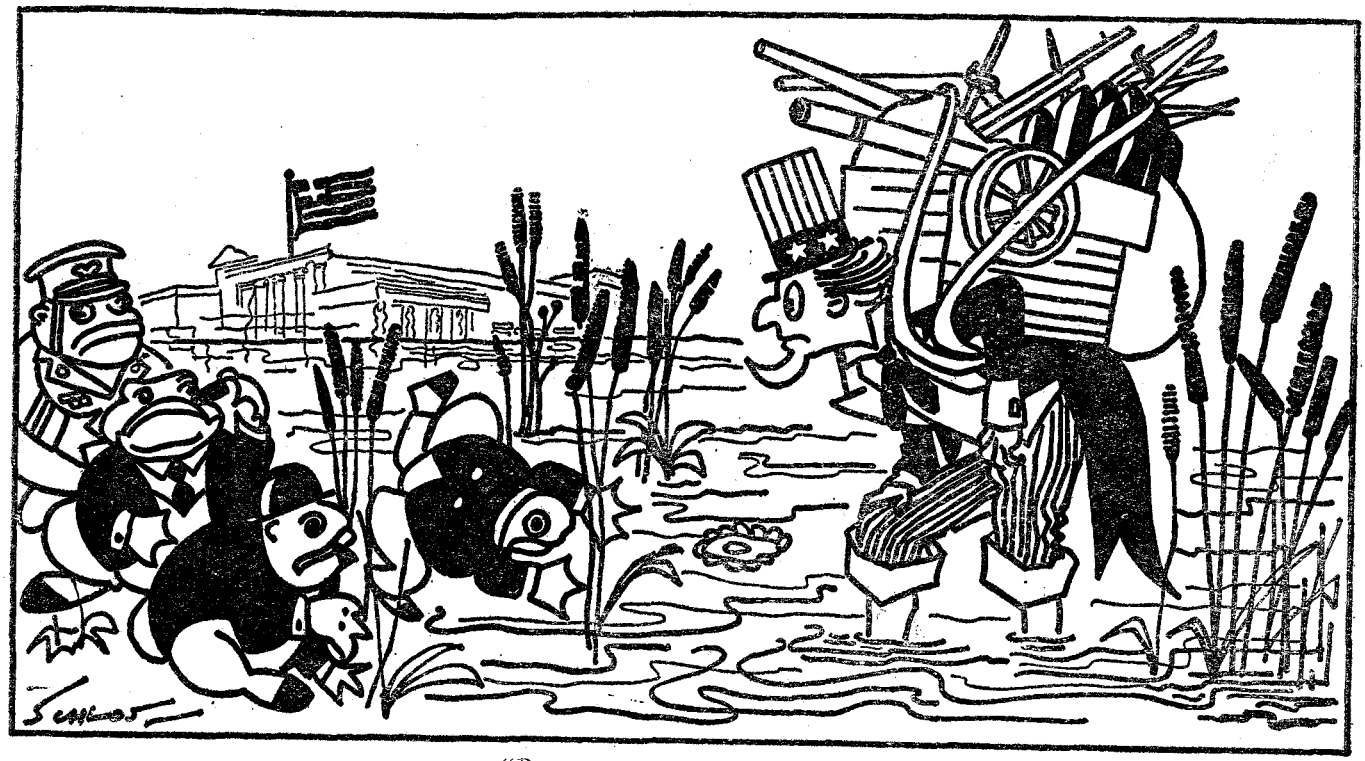
Jinnah's problems arise also from the peculiar distribution of Pakistan's provinces. This week-end, despite his failing health which may necessitate his spending some months in Europe, Jinnah has gone to Dacca, the capital of Eastern Pakistan. From Karachi to Dacca is a distance of more than 1,500 miles, practically all over Indian territory. His real mission is to conciliate Eastern Pakistan's population which is fiercely resentful of his refusal to permit the Bengali language the same official status as Hindustani.

This language difficulty illustrates the heterogeneous character of Pakistan's population. Eastern Pakistan has over 40,000,000 people out of a total of nearly 70,000,000. Most of them speak Bengali, which is Sanskritic in origin, and comparatively few have an acquaintance with Hindustani. Administratively, too, it is extremely difficult to manage a province separated from the western half of Pakistan by a thousand miles of plains along the Ganges.

The consciousness of these practical difficulties seemed to lead Jinnah to make his first conciliatory gesture toward India last week. Several thousand Moslems, former employees of the government of India who eagerly rushed to Pakistan, are disillusioned and eager to return. It is unlikely that India will readily absorb them until relations between the two dominions become friendly.

DEVELOPMENTS in Kashmir have produced deep reactions throughout India. The hope of the Security Council's finding a just solution, once almost extinguished, is again reviving at this writing. But Nehru's government is determined to protect Kashmir from raiders whatever may happen at Lake Success.

Kashmir's uncertain position in the new set-up, following the partition of India last August, has affected another large princely state, Hyderabad, in a curious way. Its population of 16,000,000 is predominantly



"BREK-EK-EK-KEX. HI, SAM!"

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Hindu under a Moslem ruler, Nizam, whose sympathies and affiliations are frankly with Pakistan. Surrounded on all sides by Indian territory, Hyderabad should logically belong to the Indian union. But a militant, well-armed Moslem organization within the state is carrying on a campaign which has already led to some bloodshed. Communist bands have appeared on the outskirts of certain parts of the state, preaching a revolutionary gospel among the peasants, and further clashes seem inevitable. Nehru's government has plainly declared that a limit of toleration has been reached and unless Nizam curbs his Moslem mobs and gives the people civil liberty and a popular government, strong action may become necessary.

Surveying the Indian scene, one sees that the general problem of the princely states has been tackled in a remarkable way. There were nearly 600 such states, some large like Hyderabad, Mysore, and Kashmir, but most of them too small to remain separate entities. Through persuasion and the application of political pressure, their number is being reduced to thirty. Nineteen large states will continue to retain their individuality, while the rest have either joined neighboring provinces or formed federations of their own within the Indian union. The establishment of popular governments has been a feature of these developments, but the princes have not all shed their autocratic powers and privileges. These compromises have not pleased either the people or the princes. The Socialists fear the princes may retain sufficient authority to become a menace later to a democratic order. Several of the princes have loyal followers with plenty of arms, and the Socialists' fears are not imaginary.

The weeks following Gandhi's assassination have been exciting and confusing, and one cannot yet see clearly the outlines of the new order. The Socialist decision to leave the Congress Party is only the first sign of the disintegration which began with the removal of Gandhi's dominant personality. An alliance between big business, the princes, and other vested interests like the landlords, threatened with the extinction of their privileges, might conceivably become imminent should the threat of radical elements like the Socialists and Communists assume more formidable shape. The Socialists have already revealed their influence in cities like Bombay. The Communists, too, have been meeting separately in Calcutta in their annual rally to evolve their plans for the immediate future. Their electoral successes have been less striking than those of the Socialists, but they are capable of better organization and are shrewder tacticians. One can see clearly the beginnings of new alignments inside both India and Pakistan, based more on social and economic interests than on religious differences.

In the Wind

IT SAYS HERE," said the Wind, "that the New York Young Republican Club is putting up a $100 prize to be vied for by 'undergraduate college men of the eastern seaboard states.' "

"Really?" said the Candle. "How do they vie?"

"By trying to write 'the best non-partisan political essay,' " the Wind replied, "on 'The Place of a Third Party in the American Political System.' "

"It couldn't happen to a nicer bunch of fellows," said the Candle. "Let's start a prize contest of our own. I nominate for my own Pulitzer prize for insuperable brashness in journalism the make-up editor of the Los Angeles *Daily News*. Take a look at this salmon-tinted front page of the *News* for February 18: A story across the top of the second and third columns tells how Mrs. Katharine McTernan, 'got herself threatened with contempt charges today before the state un-American Activities Committee' for refusing to tell the committee's chairman, state Senator Jack Tenney, about a meeting of the American-Russian Institute she may or may not have attended. 'I feel free to assemble when and where I like,' she told Mr. Tenney, 'and until I break the law, I can't understand why you want to ask a question like that.' So Tenney prepared to throw the book at her."

"That's very interesting," said the Wind, "but why do we give this make-up editor the Pulitzer prize?"

"Look down here," said the Candle. "Down here, bordering on the McTernan-Tenney story and precisely four and a quarter inches from its headline, do you see this beautiful spread? This American flag, flapping in the breeze? This dome of the Capitol? This scroll? This message on the scroll? Let me read it to you: 'The Freedom Pledge—I am an American. A Free American. Free to Speak, Without Fear. . . . Free to Stand for What I Think Right. . . . Free to Choose Those Who Govern My Country. This Heritage of Freedom I Pledge to Uphold for Myself and All Mankind.' "

"Yes," said the Wind. "I see. Give that man a Nieman Fellowship. By the way, we must see that General MacArthur gets some sort of prize for banning the Japanese edition of 'Hiroshima.' "

"Might be the prize for the Coolest Audacity of 1948," said the Candle. "Only I think *that* one should go to the *Daily Worker* for the following two sentences in its issue of March 3: 'In Czechoslovakia the world is witnessing one of those magnificent leaps in human history. Men are sloughing off a slave mentality and simultaneously embalming the would-be enslavers.' "

"No," said the Wind. "As far as audacity and Czechoslovakia go, I think we have to hand the palm to the Thomas committee, which in tracking down Dr. Edward U. Condon expressed 'concern' about the 'associations' of his wife, since—although she is a native-born American—she is of 'Czechoslovakian extraction.' "

"You're right," said the Candle. "That wins, hands down."

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Inflation's New Look

IT'S AN ill wind that blows nobody any good. Mr. Truman's special message to Congress, which gave so alarming a picture of the international situation, plunged most of us into the deepest gloom. But on the Stock Exchange, it started a spring boomlet, ending a long period of listless trading and slipping prices. The advance in quotations was general, but the leaders were war stocks—aircrafts, steels, metals, oils, and so forth.

I don't want to suggest that this market effervescence, which at the time of writing shows signs of subsiding, indicates that Wall Street hopes for war or even that it is particularly happy about a big rearmament program. However much they may want to see Russia crushed, all but the most stupid business men recognize that a third World War would probably extinguish civilization and almost certainly complete the disintegration of the capitalist system. Support for preparedness stems from the hope that it may avert war. But preparedness, also, is at best a very mixed blessing from the business point of view. A rearmament program may bring temporary profits but, if carried to the lengths obviously contemplated by the military chiefs, it will inevitably mean the resumption of government controls over raw materials, production, and prices—a very unpleasing prospect for business.

Why, then, should the stock market have turned bullish when the President asked Congress to prepare to meet the Russian danger? The chief reason, I think, was realization that the new defense policy implies indefinite postponement of recession and, indeed, gives inflation a "new look." To experienced traders, it was a signal to move from cash to equities.

It was only a few weeks ago that the business press was featuring stories about cracks in the business structure. A slump in commodities had served as a reminder that prices can fall as well as rise and had led to uneasiness, particularly among owners of big inventories. Retail sales were sagging; consumer resistance to high prices growing. In a number of industries—electrical appliances, radios, shoes, clothing, some types of factory equipment—signs of overproduction were noted. Items about lay-offs of workers, long unfamiliar, had begun to reappear. In other directions, of course, the boom was unabated. Demand for steel, automobiles, farm machinery, and heavy electrical equipment continued to be far in excess of supply. Nevertheless, a good many business oracles were hinting at a recession just around the corner. Since Mr. Truman spoke, the finger of prophecy has pointed in the opposite direction. "The odds now favor the belief," said the *Journal of Commerce* of March 22, "that business activity will be bolstered considerably in anticipation of increased defense expenditure. . . . Business must now proceed on the assumption that an effective offset exists against any protracted decline in business activity for the balance of the year."

Another factor to be taken into consideration is the tax bill which both Houses of Congress have passed by majorities that appear "veto-proof." Tax reduction will reinforce the inflationary pressure of the rearmament program. It will add to the purchasing power in the hands of the public and, by cutting deeply into the Treasury's surplus, diminish the rather effective efforts made in the last few months to check credit expansion by paying off federal debt.

Moreover, new appropriations for the armed services are sure to intrench heavily on this reduced surplus and quite possibly will transform it into a deficit. Senator Millikin, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, claims that the $4,800,000,000 tax cut will leave a margin of $1,000,000,000 or more for additional military needs. But since it costs more than $3,000 per annum to pay, feed, clothe, and maintain one soldier, this sum will be more than swallowed up by the extra 350,000 men required for the services. And according to the *Wall Street Journal* of March 24, this is only the first item on the rearmament bill. For the fiscal year starting July 1, the service chiefs want $4,000,000,000 more than the $11,000,000,000 allotted to them in the budget while, within the next few years, they anticipate a "peacetime defense program" costing $20,000,000,000 annually.

Such a program will put a strain on our physical as well as our financial resources. In 1940-41, when we last started to rearm, there was a lot of slack in our economy. Several million workers were unemployed and many industries were operating below capacity. No such margin of unused resources is available today and consequently the diversion of manpower and materials to rearmament is likely to force curtailment of production in other directions.

The steel industry—king pin of the economy in peace and war—is producing to capacity, but is not able to meet nearly all the demands of its customers. In the immediate future, direct steel requirements for the rearmament program may not be very great, but preparedness implies more than men and weapons. For instance, Colonel J. Monroe Johnson, chief of the Office of Defense Transportation, has recently warned that freight-car construction, now about 9,000 units a month, must be speeded up if the railroads are to be ready for an emergency. Again, more planes, ships, and tanks will require more oil. Just to meet the current phenomenal demand, the oil industry is investing billions in new wells, pipelines, tankers, and refineries. Its program calls for over 15,500,000 tons of steel between April 1, 1948, and September 30, 1949—about one-sixth of all finished steel products likely to be produced in that period.

Strategic industries, such as oil and transport, together with actual weapon production, will have a prior claim on steel. Can such claims be enforced without government controls? The voluntary allocation system, provided by the Taft-Wolcott Act last December, is not working well. The farm-equipment industry has refused

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to cooperate in a steel-allocation plan and other steel users may follow suit. But if compulsory allotments of steel and other scarce raw materials become necessary, non-essential consumer goods—automobiles, washing-machines, kitchen cabinets, and so forth—will be forced to the end of the line. With production shrinking while demand remains high, prices of such articles are apt to advance sharply unless Congress authorizes new price controls.

The Socialists Divide

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, March 24

THE London conference of European Socialists achieved one positive, and bad, result: the split of the Eastern and Western Socialist parties. A resolution outlawing collaboration with the Communists resulted inevitably in the secession of the Czechs who, like the Poles, were prevented from pleading their case by an apparently deliberate official delay in issuing visas. The Poles were nominally vouchsafed another opportunity to disentangle themselves from their Communist alliance, but, significantly, were not invited to the next conference in Paris on April 25. The Nenni Socialists were similarly excluded so a ban is now firmly imposed against the Eastern parties, including even the democratically blameless Finns.

Possibly it is logical to excommunicate those Socialists whose collaboration with the Communists involves opposition to the Marshall Plan in which the Western Socialists have all proclaimed readiness to cooperate. Nevertheless, it is widely felt in Labor circles here that the worst way to help the Eastern Socialist parties, struggling for independence, is the deliberate destruction of all East-West contacts. Moreover, though adopted by a now exclusively pro-Marshall Plan conference, the resolution supporting Western Union was qualified by a declaration that it can be saved from "corruption by reactionary politicians" only if the Socialists lead the movement for its realization. Since it is difficult to detect any Socialist conceptions underlying the Brussels treaty, this resolution represents unrealistic, pious aspirations not likely to be fulfilled by a Western Union eventually embracing De Gasperi, Tsaldaris, Salazar, and, perhaps, De Gaulle. It is impossible to overlook the contrast between the sixteen nations' nebulous approach to economic planning and the intense, high-speed activity for mobilization of a military Western bloc.

From the British viewpoint, this inconspicuously reported conference has been overshadowed by the almost universal fear that the United States and the Soviet Union are headed for an unnecessary clash in which the United States will not be entitled to claim a monopoly on rectitude, and that mutual East-West suspicions and hysterical cold-war propaganda are creating a vicious circle. It is generally conceded that British dependence on Western hemisphere supplies determines in advance Britain's exclusion from the Eastern camp, but Wallace's speeches are creating a profound impression here and increasing anxiety lest Marshall Plan aid may commit Britain to a war whose outbreak is estimated in London as most likely in 1950, and whose outcome would be the utter destruction of Britain whoever wins.

Communists apart, the only vocal advocate of Britain's unconditional rejection of Marshall aid is Lord Beaverbrook, who goes on proclaiming the potential self-sufficiency of the British Commonwealth. Majority opinion is undoubtedly impressed by the gloomy prognostications of the 1948 economic survey, and hence is most reluctant to forego the proffered dollars. Nevertheless, serious misgivings have been aroused by hints from Senators Connally and Lodge that the E. R. P. administrator will revoke relief, following the lend-lease precedent, if recipients export goods containing materials similar to those received from the United States. Such a stipulation, it is felt, would fatally frustrate the absolutely essential British and European effort to reorientate trade away from dollar areas. Further, if the price of Marshall Plan aid is the maintenance of extravagant military forces designed to contain the Soviet Union and hold a strategic European bridgehead for the United States, it is feared E. R. P. will be self-defeating from the standpoint of the economic reconstruction envisaged in Marshall's imaginative Harvard speech.

These, I should perhaps add, are the comments of a relatively small informed circle here. The mass attitude is simply a dismayed reluctance to share Washington's apparent belief that an ideological struggle surpassing national boundaries can be decided by atomic weapons in default of the ability of democratic socialism or, alternatively, liberalized capitalism to create social conditions impregnable to Communist infiltration. It is conceded to be arguable that immediate proof of overwhelming United States military power might check the Soviet Union's inclination to strengthen its position, but the question here is, will Congress enact conscription? Failing this, a "tough" American line appears to involve immeasurable risks, particularly for the five-power European bloc, which would be unable to maintain a fortnight's resistance against the Red Army. Liberation by American armies would doubtless eventually result, but Britain is excusably disinclined for the role of victim of the liberation.

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Del Vayo—Italy on April 18

Paris, March 25

EVERYONE agrees that the Italian elections, which will take place on April 18, are of international importance. However, predictions on the outcome do not reveal the same unanimity of opinion: some believe the Fronte Populare will muster at most 40 per cent of the votes; others, including some intelligent rightists like Don Sturzo, forecast a leftist majority.

I shall venture no predictions, but I should be interested in the answer of American liberals to the following question: If the Fronte Populare wins the election, do they believe, as many do here, that it will mean war in Europe? That is what an American told me last January in Rome, and since then I have heard the same view repeated by people who, I am sure, do not realize the gravity of their statement. I could perhaps understand their saying that if the Fronte Populare were defeated and attempted a *coup de force,* then the Western bloc, supported—or more exactly, led—by the United States, would be obliged to march on Rome. But on closer examination, both theses fall to pieces, for they destroy the very foundations of the democratic principles their proponents claim to defend. They amount to saying to the people of Italy: "If you adopt the tactics employed in Prague, there will be war; and if you observe democratic procedure, go to the polls, and elect a Communist government—there will be war anyway."

It seems to me that my question sums up the essence of the European problem and merits frank discussion among liberals. In the name of defending democracy against Russian totalitarianism, the liberals have already made a number of concessions. I am sure they have done so reluctantly, but the net result is that many of them have soft-pedaled their dislike of what is happening in Greece for fear a protest would find them playing the same tune as the Communists. This is also true for Spain; during the sixteen-nation conference at Paris, several people told me in apologetic tones: "Please don't do us the injustice of thinking we are no longer on your side. We still support the Republican cause—but first things come first and the immediate task is to organize Western Europe to prevent the Russians from converting it into another Czechoslovakia."

Similar arguments are advanced to justify an eventual entente with De Gaulle: "Well," I have been told, "it may mean a reactionary regime in France for some years to come, the end of nationalization and whatever remains of the dreams of the Resistance. However regrettable, this is the only way out, now that the Third Force has proved incapable of stopping Russia." Thus we are faced with a predisposition on the part of liberals to sacrifice not only Greece and Spain—countries already under dictatorships, as they are quick to point out—but also France and Italy. Tomorrow it may be another country, and the day after still another, each with its De Gaulle, big or small. The justification for all this? "The better articulation of the European democratic coalition." In short, the defenders of the Western crusade are proposing to give up not only nationalization but the most elementary democratic procedures.

At this point, it might be useful to review the progress of the Italian electoral campaign so far. As I write, the campaign has been no more violent than is usual for a Latin country. Walls are plastered with posters in which the right accuses Togliatti of being an agent of Moscow and the left refers to De Gasperi as an agent of the Vatican. Aside from such exchanges of compliments, left propaganda has been fairly restrained. When in Rome six weeks ago, I never once heard the Fronte Populare leaders indicate that they would use any but constitutional and legal means to win the elections, much less that they would seize power by force if defeated. When I asked them, "And if you lose, then what?" their answer was: "Then we hope to have enough deputies so that no government will dare to attack the prerogatives of the left opposition. Later, when the excitement dies down, the liberal elements that are now against us may move toward our camp and make possible another center-left coalition."

There is some small ground for this hope. Though old Benedetto Croce, the supreme authority of Italian liberals, has given his blessings to the "mariage de raison" between the Republic and the church, many of his disciples feel no inclination to renounce the anti-clerical tradition of their school. If one day the fear of Russia should subside, the old antagonism between liberals and Catholics will surely assert itself and push the liberals toward the left again.

In any case, no responsible Italian leader foresees a left revolution either before or after April 18. Writing in the conservative *Gazette de Lausanne,* Pierre Briquet reported from Rome a few days ago: "M. Nitti has just told us he doesn't believe there will be a revolution. Can Messrs. Togliatti and Nenni come to power legally by a decision at the polls? It is generally thought here that the anti-Communist forces will win by a very slender margin."

The odds are clearly on the right. The Fronte Populare has massed against it the government, with its control of the police and military forces; the church, which has threatened to excommunicate those Catholics who vote Communist; and the United States, which has warned the Italian people that if they vote Communist they will get neither credits nor food. A left victory under such conditions would mean, in my opinion, that by every rule of democratic procedure the Fronte Populare should constitute the next government of Italy, whether this suits the Marshall planners or not. If any liberal can offer me a sound counter-argument, I shall be most interested to hear it.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Beatrice and Sidney

OUR PARTNERSHIP. By Beatrice Webb. Edited by Barbara Drake and Margaret I. Cole. Longmans, Green and Company. $5.

ALTHOUGH it is inordinately long—close on 500 pages, many of them set in small type—and deals in the main with issues now remote, controversies settled or forgotten, and persons largely unknown to the contemporary public, this is an absorbing book. Once begin reading and you will read on, even if you skip pages here and there. The writer is an artist in persuasion; generous spoonfuls of sharp-flavored jam delight you just when the taste of powder gets a trifle gritty in the mouth. She follows here the method used to such brilliant purpose in "My Apprenticeship" of setting passages from the diary she kept throughout her long life in a framework of narrative. When the narrative, written in a clotted, dictation style, gets dull, the artist throws in a vivid diary section to redeem it. Such a masterpiece as "My Apprenticeship" this is not; here as there, however, you are in the hands of an accomplished novelist who can make committee and caucus meetings interesting, intrigue apparently worthy, and the processes of dual research moving. Her one failure is with "high life"; the middle section, with its dinner parties and week-ends among the Important is tedious to a degree. Even here, however, there are illuminating portraits; throughout, the great (and small) figures of the Edwardian epoch stand before us drawn in outline and color, and drawn with assurance, with verve, and with devastating candor. Terminology apart, the moderns have nothing to teach Beatrice in frankness. On no one does she turn this frankness more fully than on herself; from every point of view, she dominates and fascinates.

The years covered are 1892 to 1911: years in which the Webbs became an institution and a potent one, but had not yet become a legend. Eighteen ninety-two was the year of their marriage, and the book opens with a portrait of Sidney, striking both in its truth and its underlying tenderness, which sets the note for the constant undercurrent of sustained personal happiness that gives to the entire narrative an atmosphere of pervasive pleasure. Neither partner had, one gathers, a really intimate friend; it is indeed slightly disturbing to realize how their close associates came and went in strict accordance with their temporary usefulness, lofty though the terms of that usefulness seemed to them to be. For Sidney, G. B. S. came nearest to filling that role; to the last, he obviously puzzled Beatrice, hard as she tried to like him. She had her numerous sisters, to whom she was sincerely attached, although it is suggestive that while her brothers-in-law are most vividly characterized, one gets no picture of their wives. For the rest, Sidney and Beatrice sufficed so wholly to one another that there was no room for anyone else. Sufficed is, indeed, far too cold a word for the deep emotion that united them: they felt and thought, as well as talked and wrote, in terms, always and naturally, of "we," and their keenest delight was simply to be together. The one circumstance that vexed Beatrice, in her complicated machinations on the Poor Law Commission and on the endless speaking tours that followed it, was that she appeared to outshine Sidney; him it did not vex in the slightest degree. For both, there was superior felicity in the relatively quiet early days in 41 Grosvenor Road, when they spent the mornings writing the "History of Trade Unionism" and "Industrial Democracy" and beginning the vast opus on Local Government and, in the afternoon, Sidney trotted off to the London County Council and worked, along a series of different lines, to build an educational system for London, of which the outstanding incidents are the creation of the London School of Economics, the architecture (with R. B. Haldane) of London University, and the Education Act of 1902.

Backstage work on the Education Act brought them into the salons as well as the studies of the Great, above all the Conservative Great, whom they basically liked better than the Liberal; it was, however, the Poor Law Commission that constitutes the great watershed in their active career. What Beatrice calls the "plunge into propaganda" that followed the publication of the famous Minority Report, had far-reaching consequences. "You cannot at one and the same time exercise behind-the-scenes influence over statesmen, civil servants, and newspaper editors, while you yourself engage in public propaganda of projects which these eminent ones may view with hostility or suspicion."

They had been intimate with the leading members of the Conservative and of the Liberal Parties: on the inside of the governing groups and profoundly affecting them. Nineteen eleven changed all that. It practically drove them into the Labor Party, from which, in the first decade of its life, they had been singularly aloof.

This aloofness up to 1911 is one of the most interesting aspects, politically, of the book. As Beatrice records, they had taken no interest in foreign affairs, although disagreement on the Boer War made a breach in the Fabian ranks for a time; moreover, although their earlier works had involved them deeply in trade-union circles, the contact was professional and hardly affectionate. On the political side, few labor leaders get a good word. John Burns, for instance, is brilliantly described as "unfitted for a really great position by his utter inability to be a constant loyal comrade. . . . He is a born ruler of barbarians"; Keir Hardie

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"impressed me very unfavorably. . . . There is some truth in his remark that we were the worst enemies of the social revolution"; J. R. MacDonald they frankly detested. It is characteristic that the appearance of a Labor Party in the House of Commons in 1906 is mentioned only in a footnote, while the Labor Representation Committee, which brought the Party into being, is not mentioned at all. There is, in fact, perfect logic in the connection Beatrice herself makes between the strange new alliance and their acceptance twenty years later of Soviet Communism.

That acceptance shocked many of their Labor associates. It ought not to have done so. There was nothing, at any time, secret or furtive about the Webbs' statement of their fundamental attitude. Gradualism, with them, was a technique, not a principle: it had no organic roots in belief in democratic process. They had no such belief; they never claimed to have. What they believed in was "the Elite of unassuming experts"—accent on élite. Not only did they "expect *no* leader from the working class," they had, as Beatrice records when describing her brother-in-law Leonard Courtney as "probably more of a democrat than ourselves," "little faith in the 'average sensual man'; we do not believe he can do much more than describe his grievances, we do not think he can prescribe the remedies. . . . We wish to introduce into politics the professional expert." No careful reader of their writings, certainly no reader of "Our Partnership," should be surprised at their readiness to find in the Russia of the 30's something much nearer to their dreams than the British Labor Government of 1929-31 had brought about or aimed at bringing about. Neither from Sidney, natural bureaucrat, nor from Beatrice, natural and incurable aristocrat, is it fair to expect understanding of democracy as the indispensable school of human endeavor, safeguard of human variety, and instrument whereby, through trial and error, men learn to govern themselves. They did not, nay, they could not, feel any of this. They never pretended to do so. Beatrice, who says she had no shyness, has, throughout, a glorious frankness; she is frank about herself, about Sidney, about their colleagues, about their own ideas. This frankness will give to a fascinatingly mixed book a lasting value. MARY AGNES HAMILTON

The German Sickness

THE ABUSE OF LEARNING. The Failure of the German University. By Frederic Lilge. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

This book sheds considerable light on the German sickness that drowned Europe in blood. And it rightly shows that this illness had deep historic roots.

Lilge, who teaches the history and philosophy of education at the University of California, follows the stream of German intellectual activities in the great universities. He traces the brief rise of humanism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the later growth of idealism, the "idolatry of science," and finally the glorification of the irrational. This last development, Lilge points out, was the plow that broke the field for fascism.

"The Abuse of Learning" documents two striking phenomena of German culture—an addiction to philosophy, and a susceptibility to intellectual absolutism. Among educated or semi-educated Germans, philosophy has never been what it tends to be in Anglo-Saxon countries, an academic subject pursued by a few specialists. Germans are inclined to take philosophy and the philosophic view (*Weltanschauung*) seriously and to mix it in, like table salt, with the ordinary commodities of everyday life. This in itself would not necessarily have had unhappy consequences if it had not been for the German susceptibility to the idea of the absolute. Combine universalist philosophizing with absolute dogmatism and uncontrolled romanticism, and you have a deadly mixture—one that quite understandably produces the "total" state, "total" war, and "total" destruction.

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In the last century or so, the Germans have been either unwilling or unable to find a golden mean in their thought or their politics. Shunning the tentative and the experimental in social and political affairs, they forced everything to fit into a system based upon one or another all-embracing philosophy. The philosophy may have been romantic nonsense, but it commanded respect—and obedience—because it was, after all, philosophy. Thus "there was hardly a German thinker or educationist who ignored Nietzsche, as there was hardly an educated man who did not read him and was not excited by him."

Nietzsche was succeeded by a series of romantic-absolutist intellectuals who poisoned a whole generation. There was the desperate and fatalistic Spengler (who later recoiled from the "brute force" of the Nazis). There was the poet Stefan George, whose followers, Lilge reminds us, were out-and-out anti-humanists preaching a "holy war" against the democratic spirit as a "fiendish creation." There was Count Keyserling, the pseudo-philosopher with his phony rules of "spiritual orchestration." There was Ludwig Klages, a graphologist preaching irrational ideas. There was Rudolf Steiner, an anthroposophic charlatan. There was Martin Heidegger, the philosopher whose thought led to blind faith and to surrender, and who, in 1933, became a member of the Nazi party. "Without these," Lilge concludes, "Nazism as merely the result of a temporary economic and political crisis would never have been taken so seriously in Germany."

Lilge's book is an excellent and disturbing summary of the currents of thought that have dominated the German mind in recent generations. My only criticism of it is that it is limited in scope and inclined to be somewhat academic. What Lilge says is, I believe, dismayingly true, but he does not say enough. He has, for example, left out of his discussion Germany's lack of a democratic tradition, and the use of anti-Semitism as a weapon in the fight against any emergent humanism. It is a pity that so thoughtful a book as "The Abuse of Learning" does not anywhere come to grips with the social-economic problem underlying the intellectual history, or with the German caste system that has helped to produce a nation of intellectual absolutists and political fascists. This is a particularly serious omission today, when Germany—with its mind and traditions unchanged—is on the way to being rebuilt as a great power.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

READERS have complained from time to time about the record companies' practice of putting recordings of several different pieces of music into one album, so that one can't buy one piece without taking—and paying for—the others. The complaint is justified even when the works are homogeneous: one should be able to acquire a Toscanini recording of one Rossini overture without having to acquire the others in the volume. And certainly one should be able to acquire Berlioz's Royal Hunt and Storm from "The Trojans" without Borodin's Overture to "Prince Igor" (in this particular instance I recommend paying the $2.65 for the imported single HMV record of the Berlioz piece: I did so out of a desire to find out whether it produced a more beautiful recorded sound than the RCA Victor pressing and had a quieter surface, and I found that it did—which raises the question whether the secret of that superior HMV pressing is one which Victor cannot persuade its English affiliate to share).

A large-scale example of this kind of packaging is the RCA Victor volume (Set 1181, $8.75) of Landowska's performances of music by ten composers, ranging from an unfamiliar Bach Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro to popular favorites like Handel's "Harmonious Blacksmith" and Mozart's Turkish March. With the title "A Treasury of Harpsichord Music" it should sell a lot of copies; and the company justifies the hodge-podge as a way of educating public taste, contending that people who buy the volume for Mozart's Turkish March will listen also to Bach's Fugue. The answer in this case is that it is doing their taste no service to give them the impression that Bach is as dull as this Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro—or, in general, that classical music is as dull as most of the other music in the volume. But the real answer is that a person—whether he is interested in Mozart's

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Turkish March or in Bach's Fugue—should be able to buy what he wants without having to buy with it something, better or worse, that he doesn't want.

A friend who listened to the set with me thought that Landowska's hamming up of the music might be the result of sheer boredom and that maybe she ought to stop playing the harpsichord a couple of years. Whatever the cause, the fact is that she tears the music apart with her extravagances of pace, style, and registration.

The usual Horowitz mannered performances of Chopin's Ballade in G minor and Nocturne in F sharp are combined, in another Victor package (Set 1165, $4.75), with performances of Liszt's "Au bord d'une source" and Hungarian Rhapsody No. 6. The sound of the piano is reproduced magnificently.

Brailovsky doesn't have the transcendant virtuosity for clarity or evenness of execution in certain of Chopin's Etudes (Set 1171, $11); his playing is wholly without grace and the subtlety of phrasing, rhythm, and accentuation indicated by Chopin's markings (in the original-text edition of the Oxford University Press); it lacks even the dynamic differentiation that is called for, and is much of the time a uniformly loud hammering out of a lot of notes. I don't know whether the high range of the piano itself was glassy or the recording makes it so; the lower range sounds excellent. On a single record (12-0016, $1.25) is a poor performance of Chopin's Fantaisie-Impromptu, with the Nocturne in E flat.

Rubinstein surprised me, in Schumann's Piano Concerto (Set 1176, $6), by playing quite simply most of the time—the exception being the cadenza of the first movement, where he permits himself his more usual extravagances of phrasing and pace. His playing and the joint performance with the orchestra under Steinberg could be more quiet and relaxed; but even as it stands the performance is, I think, quite good and the best available. Its spacious and rich recorded sound, too, could be a little more refined; but it allows the orchestra to be heard clearly with the piano.

Columbia's contribution is Schumann's "Kreisleriana" (Set 716, $7.10), much of it very fine, and the fast portions played better by Arrau than the slow ones, which he sentimentalizes. The recording conceals his hard touch; but the sound of the piano is weak in the high range and without luster and clarity lower down.

English Decca has provided me with an introduction to the remarkably fine piano-playing of Clifford Curzon—but unfortunately in one of the worst horrors of Brahms's attempts at portentous large-scale utterance, the Piano Concerto No. 1 (Set EDA-47, $13.65). The playing of the National Symphony under Jorda is good; and the performance is excellently reproduced, except for the usual Decca weakness of treble in the sound of the piano. I await impatiently the Decca recording of Mozart's Concerto K.488 with Curzon as the piano soloist.

Musicraft's idea of a good package is a bad one: Mozart's Piano Sonata K.310 and Hindemith's No. 2 (1936), played by Jacques Abram (Set 89, $4.04). The performance of the Hindemith seems good; that of the Mozart is hard and brash, but straightforward except for an occasional detail of inflection or tempo. The sound of the piano is well reproduced; surfaces are noisy.

And finally, Disc offers a volume (Set 675, $4.04) of Alan Hovhaness's "Mihr" and "Invocations to Vahakn" IV and V for two pianos, and John Cage's "Amores" I and IV for his prepared piano; and another (Set 876, $5.62) with two orchestral compositions by Hovhaness, "Lousadzak" and "Tzaikerk." Hovhaness writes genuine Armenian music, to which I have no aesthetic response; nor have I any to Cage's music. The performances in the first volume are by Hovhaness and Maro Ajemian; and in the second the soloists are Miss Ajemian, piano, Anahid Ajemian, violin, Philip Kaplan, flute, and Saul Goodman, drum. Recording excellent; surfaces noisy.

Letters to the Editors

Not Anti-Semitic

Dear Sirs: Alan Barth's letter in your issue of March 6 criticizing the article by Gilbert Gordon, Fascist Field Day in Chicago (in *The Nation,* January 24), gave me some satisfaction, but it contained a reference to me by name which forces me to demand a correction. Mr. Barth wrote that "the *Sentinel* would . . . have been entirely within its rights in calling Messrs. Dennis" and others "bigots, anti-Semites, or even fascists."

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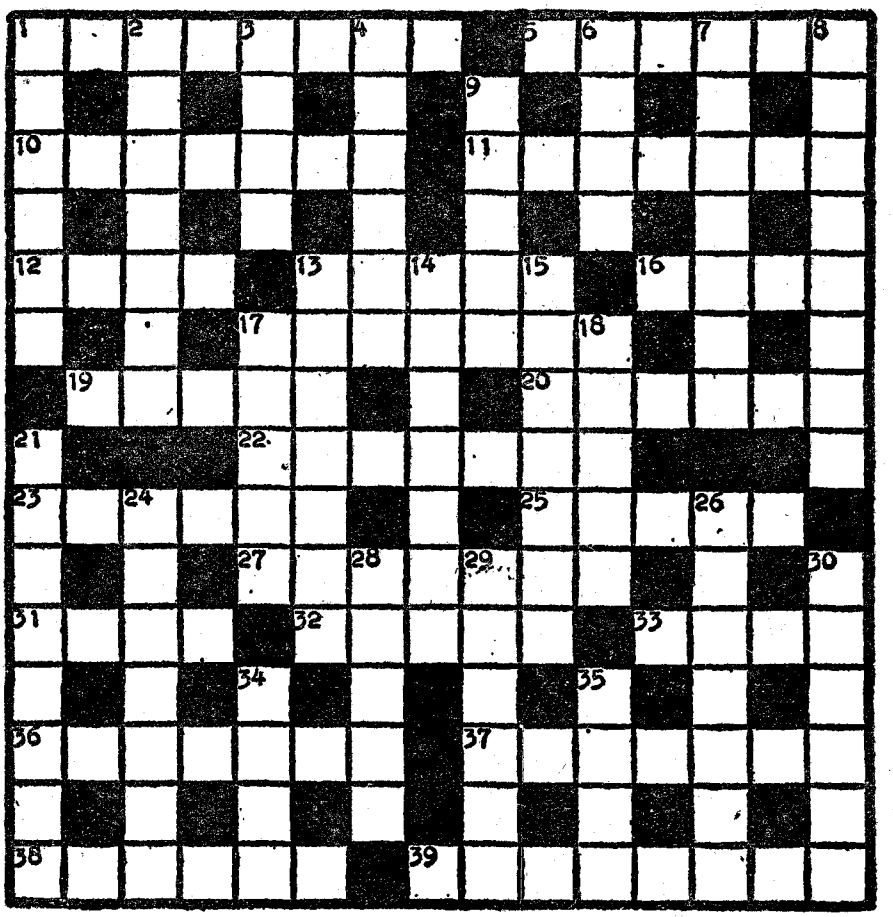
Crossword Puzzle No. 257

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Fall will find it fall sooner. (8)
5 How 3 down is posted. (6)
10 Indigenous. (7)
11 Delivered, when the address is given. (7)
12 They come big on little pitchers. (4)
13 In the midst of silver around the scotch man. (5)
16 Precipitate eruption. (4)
17 Old apothecaries. (7)
19 Composer sounds seedy. (5)
20 35 at poker. (4, 2)
22 Only flight can keep it from going broke. (7)
23 Not exactly a little shaver from Seville. (6)
25 Actions that went to town. (5)
27 Has drawers and puts them on. (7)
31 Sort of wink? (4)
32 and 33 Forecasts the output of *The Nation.* (2, 3, 4)
36 Train, run true to form. (7)
37 Nastier when taken out of reserves. (7)
38 How a junk-man gets around. (6)
39 Nathu Ram Vinayak Godse, for example. (8)

DOWN

1 Checked up the quality of hose. (6)
2 Rather catching when it comes up like the surface of some roads. (3-4)
3 He must have played a hot fiddle! (4)
4 Sorted as mail, and sliced as meat. (6)
6 A sketch, without question. (4)
7 Fine feathers fit a male pug. (7)
8 and 21 Even a blind man can appreciate the leading paragraphs of *The Nation.* (3, 5, 2, 6)
9 Ordinary-sounding surface. (5)
13 How the general leads on to a particular place. (1, 6)
14 His business is spectacular. (7)
15 This man seems to be enraged. (7)
17 "Of reeking tube and iron ———" (Kipling). (5)
18 Curl over the lip. (5)
21 See 8.
24 With enough water and rum, even a goat could make this fabric. (7)
26 I raised milk products there. (7)
28 How to finish off Edward. (5)
29 If their relatives were hangers-on, it would make material difference. (6)
30 Would one accuse him of having been light-minded? (6)
34 Wind to lean against when it comes up. (4)
35 The answer to 20 is the definition. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 256

ACROSS:—1 PICKWICK PAPERS; 9 NAPHTHA; 10 RICHARD; 11 GRAPHS; 12 BUTTRESS; 14 ECLAIRS; 15 BUTTE; 17 CUBES; 19 GROUNDS; 21 PRUSSIAN; 23 SOCCER; 25 REDDISH; 26 OPINION; 27 CROSS-REFERENCE.

DOWN:—1 PANEGYRIC; 2 CUPCAKE; 3 WITHHOLDS; 4 COAT; 5 PERCUSSION; 6 PICOT; 7 REAGENT; 8 ODDS; 13 BIOGRAPHER; 15 BANDOLIER; 16 ENDURANCE; 18 BOULDER; 20 SUCTION; 21 PORT; 22 SAILS; 24 WOOF.

Whether calling anyone who denies it anti-Semitic or fascist is actionable may be arguable, in the present state of the law, but certainly the rule of fair comment compels you to state that in this libel suit—which I won in the full amount of $10,000, for which I sued—the *Sentinel's* attorneys admitted twice, in open court, once while I was undergoing hostile examination by the defendant, that the defendant recognized that I had not been and was not anti-Semitic. That is in the record, and that, I insist, you definitely have an obligation to state.

LAWRENCE DENNIS

Becket, Mass., March 9

Dear Sirs: I am glad to accept Mr. Dennis's assurance that he is not anti-Semitic. ALAN BARTH

Washington, March 19

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